THE

Commonweal

THROUGH FRENCH EYES

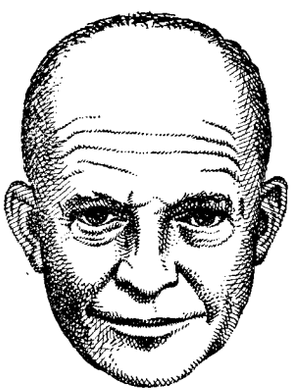
The American Experiment

by Thomas Molnar

ANGLICANS AND "CRISES"

Tea-Cup Tempest

by Peter F. Anson



AFTER THE DECISION

The Eisenhower Paradox

by William V. Shannon

ume LXIII, No. 25 March 23, 1956 Twenty Cents

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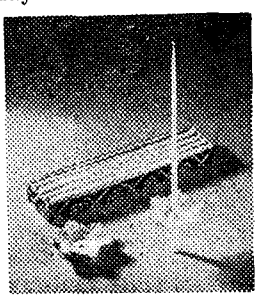

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THIS WEEK

Week by Week 631

The American Experiment
by Thomas Molnar 635

The Eisenhower Paradox
by William V. Shannon 639

Tea-Cup Tempest
by Peter F. Anson 641

After the Agony in the Garden: A Poem
by Daryl Hine 642

The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung 643

Communications 644

Books 646

THE COMMONWEAL
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The Commonweal

week by week

A CATHOLIC "PARTY LINE"?

IS THERE a Catholic "line" on political and cultural issues? In a recent advertisement in the N. Y. *Times,* The Commonweal tried to describe its point of view in these words: "Examination of political and cultural issues without the propagation of any particular 'line'—advancement of true Christian values with emphasis on the priority of human beings over property and institutions." Behind a magazine like The Commonweal there is a wealth of theory that is fairly complex and not too readily telescoped; the last time we tried in our own pages, under the heading "What Is The Commonweal?" the result ran into thousands of words. In the *Times* ad, the wording we used could conceivably have been better; if it created any genuine confusion, the fault is ours, and we have changed the phrasing of future ads in an effort to avoid misunderstanding.

Granting all this, however, we are still inclined to wonder at some of the criticism leveled at The Commonweal as a result of this ad. In an address to a regional meeting of the Catholic Press Assn., for example, the Most Reverend Joseph McShea, Auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia, said: "The implications of the advertising copy are clear. They are trying to tell the readers of the New York *Times* that they don't follow or propagate the Catholic line. If there is any pretense at being Catholic press they do have an obligation of following the Catholic 'line'—if I may be permitted to repeat the opprobrious word—which is the *magisterium* of the Church, given by divine institution to the Apostles and their successors of today."

These remarks by Bishop McShea have since been reprinted in the *Catholic Mind* for March, 1956. Interestingly enough, an article by the Most Reverend Robert J. Dwyer, Bishop of Reno, which appears in the same issue, illustrates some of the difficulties involved in the subject under discussion. Called "Who Speaks for the Church?" this article reaffirms that the Church is infallible in questions of faith and morals and that this infallibility resides in the office of the Sovereign Pontiff as Vicar of Christ on earth and in the Apostolic College as represented by the Bishops of the Church, teaching in unison with the Bishop of Rome. When the Pope, by himself or in concert with the Bishops of the world, deems it necessary or useful, he speaks *ex cathedra,* and the question is settled once and for all. Such pronouncements, however, are confined to the spheres of dogma and morals and are at once solemn and rare; usually, the Pope speaks simply as the divinely appointed guardian of faith and human behavior, and in this he is followed by the Bishops who do in like manner to the faithful in their care.

AS Bishop Dwyer points out, so long as these pronouncements are confined to the proper sphere, it is the duty of Catholics to give them their unqualified adherence. But, he emphasizes, "the sphere of morals is less well defined than the sphere of faith . . . [because] the problem of morality is inextricably interwoven with all human relations. It is bound up with government, with politics, with economics, with sociology, with art, with literature, with applied science and even with entertainment. It involves the application of the virtues of justice, prudence, temperance and fortitude to all these manifold and highly intricate relations. Where the distinction between right and wrong is clearly defined, the Church has not hesitated to speak out [e.g. condemnation of Socialism and Communism, of mercy killing, birth prevention and genocide.—Ed.]. . . . But she has not pronounced, and she could not reasonably be expected to pronounce, on every item of legislation throughout the free world. Especially is this true in areas where debate is still justified. . . . The difficulty is that some theologians and Catholic publicists are prone to write and speak as though they were the Holy Father himself. . . . It is not the Church that is at fault, obviously, but the over-zealous or over-opinionated among her children."

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It is a fact that for a long time some Catholic magazines and diocesan papers gave their readers the impression that it was *the* "Catholic position," for example, that demanded support of Senator McCarthy; that opposed the "godless" United Nations; or that attacked, not the European philosophical Liberalism condemned by the Popes, but the non-philosophical political and social liberalism often found in America. Now the tide of opinion seems to be turning a little, and a few Catholic editors who are pro-UN, anti-Bricker Amendment, and anti-McCarthy, even show signs in turn of wanting to cut off discussion by appeals to Papal quotation. Both positions illustrate the pitfalls awaiting the unwary.

Specific practical judgments on complex political issues, like similar judgments on literature or works of art in general, hardly fall into the category of revealed truth. Thus all Catholics have to oppose Communism, for example, because Catholicism and Communism are irreconcilable, but they will often differ about the best ways to fight it, as exemplified by the division of opinion among Catholics on Senator McCarthy. In such instances, the danger does not lie in the disagreement itself, but in the temptation to equate one's own practical judgments with the principle from which one started. When that mistake is made, an arbitrary and unwarranted "Catholic line" is in the making.

In its March 10 issue, *America* entered the discussion in an editorial entitled, "Is There Really a Catholic Line?" In the course of examining the semantics of the situation and the various ways in which the term "Catholic line" conceivably could be used, the editorial says: "Catholics never think of the revealed truths taught by the Church as a 'line.'" This point, it seems to us, is the heart of the matter. The expression "line" or "party line" is usually associated with a kind of blind, unthinking conformity on every issue, whether political, social, or cultural. To apply this concept of a party line to the Church and say that on political and cultural issues there is or should be a "Catholic line" for all to follow seems at best extremely inappropriate and likely only to advance the Blanshard thesis.

DEPORTING THE ARCHBISHOP

THE ADAGE that the British are at their best when things look worst for them is being put to its severest test. If they are to sustain such a reputation and salvage anything substantial from their various crises of waning empire, the Eden Government will have to do considerably better from here on than it has done on the strategic island of Cyprus. It displayed a proverbial determination and decision, but otherwise the sudden deporting of Archbishop Makarios to the remote Seychelles Islands has little to recommend it—even though the exile's new residence is said to command a magnificent view. Can this desperate action be ascribed to the mood of frenzy induced by Jordan's curt dismissal of General Glubb and fear of the damage certain to result from further British steps backward, particularly in the Middle East?

There is no denying the island's key importance, not only to Britain herself but also to nearby Turkey and to the whole NATO alliance because of the strategic Turkish Straits. The base of Cyprus is also close enough to the Holy Land to serve as a deterrent to war between Israel and her Arab neighbors. Cyprus is of worldwide strategic importance. The problem is how to square this with the needs and aspirations of the island's inhabitants —four-fifths Greek and one-fifth Turkish.

The British had a good general formula which recognized the desirability of independence for the Cypriotes but held the moment not yet opportune. This has a familiar ring to rebellious colonial peoples but it happens to contain a large measure of truth in this instance. One of the reasons that five months of negotiations were recently broken off was that Archbishop Makarios was unwilling to accept what he considered to be an indefinite postponement of liberation from Britain (and union with Greece).

The grounds for the Archbishop's arrest appear none too solid. He had refused to call off all acts of violence until more progress had been made toward an agreement. He was, when apprehended, about to take a plane to Athens to confer with Greek leaders. The "weapons" and documents which the British authorities have so far unearthed at the episcopal palace have proved to be anything but impressive. Yet, in their efforts to restore "law and order," the British have taken the step most certain greatly to stiffen Cypriote resistance.

And what of the dangers of simply reaching in and removing a bishop from his post—from the seat of his Christian labors? Archbishop Makarios is a member of the hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church, in which it is customary for the archbishop or patriarch to serve not only as spiritual head but also as the political leader of his people. The Makarios deportation arouses not only the Greeks but also the Orthodox of many other countries. It creates uneasy feelings among Britain's friends in many other lands. The ultimate folly in this desperate move is to have contravened spiritual authority for whatever (mistaken) reasons of state.

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DEBATING CIVIL RIGHTS

IT WAS inevitable that much of the debate of our national campaign would focus on the issue of civil rights and, more specifically, on the question of integration. To think that it could be otherwise is to indulge in wishful thinking that is unrelated to the harsh realities of political life. The more closely the two major parties work between elections, the more they agree on major issues, the greater is the need to emphasize their differences in election campaigns. And when there is an issue that arouses such strong feelings that it will, before almost all other questions, command the allegiance of many voters, this issue will be dragged, willy-nilly, into the political arena. Segregation is just such an issue.

The benefit of political debate is that issues can be presented to the voter clearly, that differences between the Democratic and the Republican approach can be sharpened and discussed, that proposed solutions or platforms can be examined and criticized. The obvious dangers are that false differences can be too easily manufactured, that false claims and accusations can be made, and that the real issue can be exploited so that it will bring temporary aid to the demagogues but lasting harm to the country.

It should be abundantly clear to even the casual observer that the issue of integration is explosive; wounds needlessly inflicted now will not easily be healed by the balm of political victory. They will long continue to fester. Yet there are signs that some of our political spokesmen are willing to speak irresponsibly, to sow the seeds of rancor and dissension in order to garner a political victory.

While the central question is common to both of our major political parties, each faces it in a different way. The Democratic Party is in real danger of being rent asunder. The hostility of the South to the decision of the Supreme Court was again stressed when ninety-six Southern Congressmen issued a Declaration of Constitutional Principles which states in part: "The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law. . . . We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation." All but two of the ninety-six Congressmen who signed this statement are Democrats, and several of the signers are heads of important Congressional committees. Unless a Presidential candidate can unite other Democrats with this group, however tenously, the Democratic Party may founder.

Democratic National Chairman Butler recently gave the nation an example of the kind of statement that helps neither one's party nor one's country. Mr. Butler denied the real progress that minority groups have achieved under the present Administration, and he called upon President Eisenhower "to assume the responsibilities of his office in this problem of civil rights." Yet Mr. Butler did not, at the time, assume the responsibilities of his own position as Democratic Chairman. When a chorus of voices questioned him about white supremacist Senator Eastland, new chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he ignored them. We can ill afford more examples of such irresponsible charges and unanswered questions.

Nor is the Republican Party innocent of irresponsible and dangerous demagoguery on this score. President Eisenhower has been silent or has issued moderate and cautious statements. But Vice President Richard Nixon has shown his customary lack of restraint in political debate. Wishing to claim as much as possible for the Republicans, he enlisted under their achievements the Supreme Court's school integration order because it was issued under "Republican" Chief Justice Warren. This claim mixes party and function with such wild extravagance that it caused even other Republicans to shudder and brought an implied rebuke from the President. And Mr. Nixon's statement lends false support to Southerners who wish to "politicalize" the court's decision.

Mr. Nixon is not likely to make this mistake again, but there is mounting evidence that many Republicans would not be pleased to see a campaigner of Mr. Nixon's famed abilities debate the issue of segregation. And, many think, the unnecessary hostility that he has already aroused scarcely prepares him for the Presidency.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

Many readers of this magazine are already aware that the Catholic Worker's New York House of Hospitality is faced with the threat of closing by city authorities, who consider the building a fire hazard. The court has granted Dorothy Day a short reprieve to start fireproofing. The estimated cost is $28,000 and at present writing $10,500 has been received, the great bulk of it in small amounts. Readers should send their contributions to: The Catholic Worker, 223 Chrystie St., New York 2, N. Y.

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If, in the coming months, political leaders continue to speak irresponsibly on the issue of segregation, all will suffer—the Negro whose rights are being defended, the white Southerner who fights for what he considers a tradition and a "way of life," and the rest of the nation.

EFFECTIVE LOBBYING

THE SPOTLIGHT focused on Washington lobbying by the President's gas bill veto and subsequent Senate investigations calls for closer examination of that phenomenon. Letters from constituents appear to comprise the most telling pressure. Less is accomplished than is widely believed by outright blandishments, or face-to-face persuasion, by well-heeled advocates of private interests. In direct contact the Washington lobbyist seems able to accomplish more by supplying data and know-how to various key Congressmen. Because of their personal acquaintanceship and knowledge of the legislative ropes many former officeholders are themselves among the most effective lobbyists.

But the securing of convincing floods of mail from pivotal states to Senators and Representatives means reaching the "folks back home." That makes effective lobbying a much more intricate process than is generally supposed; it calls for a degree of ingenuity and persistence—if not of financial resources—beyond those who lobby in the general public interest. It involves contacts with local newspapers, and the drawing up and publicizing of certain break-downs of such things as local purchases and sales to demonstrate the need for this or that legislative action. There are occasions, of course, when skilled advocates of rival private interests present conflicting stories. The surprising thing, in general, is that there is not greater exploitation of the general American public in view of the proficiency of various business pressures.

DISARMAMENT AND DEFENSE

PRESIDENT Eisenhower's recent proposal to Premier Bulganin that both the U.S. and Russia freeze the stockpiling of nuclear weapons at present levels seems to have stirred up official reactions of optimism on this side of the Iron Curtain. Harold E. Stassen, for example, the President's special assistant on disarmament, now hopes that the United Nations Subcommittee on Disarmament may come to concrete agreements as a result of the President's proposal of an arms freeze.

There is reason to suspect, however, that Mr. Stassen's hopes may be dashed by Russia's refusal to make any substantial agreement to freeze production of nuclear arms until their stockpile, now estimated as one third as large as that of the U.S., has been appreciably increased. Even more significant, perhaps, is the fact that the Eisenhower proposal implicitly makes clear the latest stage in the race for military mastery in thermonuclear warfare—the fact that both Russia and the U.S. have enough atomic arms stockpiled to devastate each other; as a consequence, emphasis must now be shifted from the bombs themselves to the "carriers," the jet and nuclear-propelled planes and missiles needed to deliver the bombs.

It is in this last and vital phase of the arms race that the U.S. seems to be lagging behind Russia. It has been widely reported, for example, that Russia is almost ready to test a missile with a 1,500 mile range. Not only has the U.S. no missile comparable to this, but the fact that the Russians may have achieved it first has dread consequences for the nation's present defense establishments. Most of the U.S. air bases overseas would be well within range of a 1,500 mile missile, and these bases are currently the very sinews of our defensive strength; without these bases the B-47, a bomber of only medium range, is incapable of delivering an effective blow at Russia.

Even the possibility of these overseas bases being menaced by Russian missiles would seem to indicate that the U.S. should step up its production of long-range bombers, capable of operating against Russia from bases in this hemisphere. Oddly enough, Air Force Secretary Quarles has recently declared himself perfectly satisfied with his present program, which turns out only four such long-range bombers per month, even though the Secretary is also on record as having told a Congressional committee that for the next five years the long-range bomber will probably be the most important weapon for carrying thermonuclear war to an enemy. It may be that Mr. Quarles, like Mr. Stassen, is a strenuously optimistic man and devoutly hopes that we will not be needing those bombers at any time within the next five years. With the possibility, however, that Russian missiles may be aimed at our overseas bases in the near future, we can share Mr. Quarles' hopes, but not his optimism.

Mr. Quarles' reliance on a defense posture that is at least questionable, and Mr. Stassen's reliance on a disarmament proposal that is ineffective, suggest that the Administration is neither providing the right answers or even asking the right questions in our search for survival in the atomic age.

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THROUGH FRENCH EYES

The American Experiment

"WHAT EVEN LEFTIST FRENCH INTELLECTUALS FIND MOST FASCINATING IS THAT IN THIS SOCIETY THE PREDICTIONS OF MARX SEEM TO HAVE LOST THEIR VALIDITY"

THOMAS MOLNAR

WHEN, AFTER 1919, the social and institutional framework of the Western world began to display signs of weakness, the Russian "experiment" was eagerly watched by friends and foes alike. Almost regardless of the nature of the Soviet system, the fact that a new society was being built seemed to be of immense significance in the eyes of the tired and disillusioned bourgeois democracies. That the new regime was erected on the ruins of the old also contributed to the prestige and glamor of the undertaking, since it seemed to prove to the impatient ideologists what they wanted to hear: that tradition is but a delaying factor to be thrown overboard.

At that time, strangely enough, the United States appeared to be farther away from Europe than did Russia. The Bolshevik and Menshevik old guard, Lenin's friends and opponents, those who were to occupy important posts in the new government, had been living for decades in western and central Europe, and were penetrated, if not with the spirit, at least with the habits and culture of the lands of their exile.

All throughout the twenties and early thirties the Soviet was bent upon rehabilitating the old adage, *ex oriente lux;* in the face of rising Fascism, the socialist Republic skillfully spread the myth of being the champion of all the oppressed: workers, Jews, minority groups, but also of progressive ideas in art, literature and science. With this kind of propaganda it managed to catch in its net such prize fish as Gide, Malraux, Picasso, etc.

While the Soviet leaders and their much-publicized achievements were holding people's attention, provoking either enthusiasm or alarm, the United States of America retreated from the continent and developed its own brand of splendid isolation. The French still kept referring to the Americans as allies, still named their streets and parks after President Wilson, but had only distracted glimpses of the American way of life and thinking, mostly through the lens of Hollywood. There were, of course, occasional transatlantic visitors like André Siegfried, who made serious efforts to understand what the United States is all about, but others, like Georges Duhamel, observed the aspects of the new civilization with unconcealed anxiety, denouncing its shallowness and warning his compatriots against being tempted by *les scènes de la vie future,* a phrase which later became the title of his travel book.

THE PERIOD immediately following World War II turned upside down the image that the French left-wing (but non-Communist) intellectuals had had of America and Russia. The great disappointment with Stalinist policy in 1939-40, and again after 1945, sobered their enthusiasm for the Soviet experiment and, as a matter of fact, gave a new impetus to a philosophy of the human condition according to which individuals and societies are subject to certain constants of history that only megalomaniacs try to transcend, always at the expense of great suffering for the human objects of their experimentation. America, on the other hand, appeared to the average Frenchman as a trustworthy ally, coming for the second time to the rescue of the old continent with military but also economic aid, as it was exemplified by the UNRRA and the Marshall Plan. Since nothing is as impressive, even in international relations, as success, the ability of the Americans to equip and mobilize their peaceful nation, to put their shoulders behind the war effort, and to survive unscathed in a world of ruins and chaos, all the while preserving democratic freedoms, started people thinking on the merits of the "American experiment." Many fellow-traveling observers of the world scene were obliged to admit to themselves that the Soviet had reached a dead-end street in which the worst features of Western history, from the Industrial Revolution to the Nazi concentration camps, were not only reproduced but, in addition, enlarged and Asianized. As a result, their attention turned to the continent across the Atlantic in order to explore yet other avenues of Western evolution.

The awakening following the disappointment with Russia was, nevertheless, extremely rude, and the de-

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gree of its rudeness measures, at the same time, the dissatisfaction of the French intelligentsia with the state of French society and political realities. As a result of this awakening, all those who had committed themselves to the idea of rejuvenating society along the lines of Marxism and democracy *combined,* found themselves tied to the mast of a sinking ship. "The French intellectuals," writes Mme. de Beauvoir in *Les Mandarins,* "have reached an impasse . . . Their art and their philosophy may not preserve their meaning unless a certain form of civilization manages to survive; but if they wish to save it, they may have nothing left to enrich this same art and philosophy." The best of their efforts, it is claimed, would be absorbed by political activities.

Such being the dilemma, the French intellectuals must take time to readjust their vision. A process of sincere soul-searching is going on even in the camp of Paul Sartre: Francis Jeanson, Sartre's close collaborator, wrote recently that the Stalinist movement no longer embodies the spirit of authentic revolution. "But," he adds, "we are for the movement . . . because we think it is better for it to be imperfect than to disappear."

The alternative seems to be the United States. One must guard, however, against too easy parallels. This country has a vast territory and a population in constant flux which permits experiments and innovations that French society, suffocating among the jealously guarded privileges (*situations acquises*) of its citizens and corporations, is unable to afford. Furthermore, the peculiar social setup of the United States has been responsible also for a psychological climate in which even the less favored segments of the population do not resort to revolutionary violence but rather patiently wait for their turn and share in the general prosperity while witnessing the spectacular growth and achievements of other groups of the nation. Such a confidence in the social body is practically unknown in France where, by the time that the aspirations of a class are recognized by the ruling strata, bitterness will have several times exploded among the clash of ideological and real weapons.

IN CONTRAST to these differences between the American and the French scene, there are identical interests also. In this respect one may quote Raymond Aron's recent article in *Diogenes:* "The development of productive forces is the final aim here [in France] as well as there [in the U.S.]; the progress of science and of technology is the indispensable means for this development and, in both cases, governments are the representatives of the working people." On how to achieve these goals and means, the opinions are, nevertheless, divided. Thus one of the leading figures of the *Chrétiens de gauche,* J. M. Domenach, declares that not to work for the revolution "means to yield the care of reforms to technicians devoid of political consciousness who would strengthen capitalism rather than transform it." Why? Because the technicians are willing to serve any regime, whether as Stalinist bureaucrats or capitalist managers. In either case, the argument runs, their interest is to maintain the status quo. If, as a result of their activity, the conditions of the working masses greatly improve, as modern American capitalism would claim, the workers will relax their collective vigilance over capitalist tactics. With a higher standard of living they must relax even their class-consciousness; a new economic relapse would find them disorganized and demoralized.

Also, the technician, the efficiency expert, the public relations man and the advertising agent represent precisely that facet of American life of which the French intellectual—whether on the Left or on the Right—is most afraid. He denounces the commercialism that, in America, pervades the domain of higher values; when he waves the flag of the proletarian revolution, in reality he often means to express, as Mr. Aron points out, his own revolt "against American influence and certain forms of industrial civilization."

IN SPITE of this, however, the United States does not fail to impress even the leftist French intellectuals. What they find most fascinating—and most damaging to their ideological commitment—is that the predictions of Marx seem to have lost their validity in this society. First of all, it appears that capitalism, despite the Marxian analysis, actually deproletarizes the mass of workers who adapt themselves astonishingly fast to bourgeois standards of living.

The French left-wing intellectuals and labor leaders consider this shift in standards a desertion from the rank of workers; they suspect that a subtle capitalist strategy is at work, heaping on the workers all sorts of benefits, only to weaken, in the long run, their status and their solidarity. But, in reality, the unions of these same workers have not ceased, in the words of Shepard Clough, to preach "the desirability of the 'full dinner pail' through productivity within the capitalist system." And this policy is not just one phase of an otherwise uneasy truce; the working class "fits into" American society, does not question, as C. Wright Mills writes, its "prevailing symbols, and has not developed counter-symbols; [it wants no] changes in the system of work or life." It is job-conscious rather than class-conscious.

The French intellectuals accept the essential truth-value of this picture. But does the picture satisfy them? Logically, it ought to, since they have a thousand

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times denounced their own stratified society, the misery of the workers of Billancourt and Casablanca, and, not least, the lack of a camp of readers and spectators from *all* layers of society, a lack due, they maintain, to social inequality. Yet, confronted with the "American experiment," the French intellectual shakes his head and rejects the classless society that the Americans have approximated if not yet established. One reason for this is that in the United States the leveling is an *upward* process or *embourgeoisement,* and this displeases the French intellectual whose efforts aim precisely at escaping the bourgeois condition. He believes in the blessings of a society without class distinctions, only if the massive backbone of that society is the proletariat that the French intellectual implicitly trusts. Merleau-Ponty's words have almost a millennial tone when he says that the proletariat alone is able to give shape and meaning to mankind, and that man is reborn through the proletarian condition. The same solemn assurance comes from leftist Catholic circles: class-consciousness is a necessary weapon for the proletariat in its struggle against the middle class. The worker, writes Jean Lacroix, "embodies the youthfulness of this earth"; he represents the "universally human."

DESPITE their elaborate theories and enthusiasm for a vaguely envisaged new world, the leftist French intelligentsia has been a political failure. In 1945, large crowds expected political guidance from the men with intellectual prestige. But what remains of these expectations? What remains of the editorials that Camus wrote in *Combat,* demanding the immediate establishment of a "people's and workers' democracy"? What remains of the Revolutionary Democratic Rally of M. Sartre and David Rousset, promising a classless society through which "history would become conscious of itself"? All of this has gone up in smoke, the way of all slogans; the fear of the expert, the technician, the piecemeal reformer has eroded the immense amount of good will and talent which, in 1945, was ready to perform miracles.

The key word in the attack on the expert is, perhaps, his alleged lack of political consciousness. Behind this lack there is a further, deeper absence of philosophical consciousness; while the philosopher understands and expresses the tensions of the human situation, the expert is part of a maintenance crew, repairing and patching up wherever necessary instead of fighting the intellectual vanguard-battles of classes in conflict. The expert and his role in American society find, therefore, no favor in the eyes of the left-wing intelligentsia of France; as we have seen, they accuse the expert of being a tool of capitalism and of helping this system perpetuate itself. As early as 1934, Simone Weil spoke of the "economic dictatorship by the technicians in the United States." Moreover, it seems that in the United States, as E. Burdick wrote recently in the *Pacific Spectator,* the intellectuals, at least the popular ones such as the psychologists, sociologists, and educationalists "have accepted the notion that their ultimate worth depends on their relevance to a healthy economic life." That his worth be measured in the balance of economic relevance is the last thing a member of the French intelligentsia would accept. When, nevertheless, he proclaims his adhesion to the concept of a classless, production-minded society, he is caught between Scylla and Charybdis: the Soviet "technician" who is but a servant of political dogma, and the American "social engineer" who accepts a humble position in a pluralistic, business-centered community.

Not that the French intellectual denies the great achievements of the American expert and the society it serves; but on account of his own Marxist background he is baffled by the absence of dictatorial impositions in a country whose efficiency reminds him of the equally spectacular but ephemeral and blood-stained successes of totalitarian states. That the American economy might have bypassed the line Marx had predicted for capitalism does not make sense to him, for Marx's French disciples there are inevitable steps in historical development, and no society can skip them. Therefore the American system, allegedly at all times under the threat of impending collapse, has, for the French intellectual, an air of unreality.

This impression derived from the American scene leads the French intellectual to the conclusion that what he observes is still classical capitalism to which the Marxian analysis would easily apply if the country were not so well endowed materially and were not assisted by a number of other favorable circumstances. Only he fails to understand that high among these favorable circumstances is precisely one lesson that both American capital and labor have learned, namely, to avoid the tactical mistakes and rigid ideologies of

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their European counterparts. There are, of course, other contingencies as well: one is the economic and social mobility of the American working population which often acts as a safety valve by minimizing political demands. Such mobility is practically unknown in a country as traditionally and rigidly structured as France. Another difference, as Professor C. Wright Mills pointed out, is that the immigrant's principal ambition has been to be "Americanized" first; the achievement of a social status came only second in the order of his preferences. In this way, the American intellectuals never had the opportunity of becoming "leaders for discontented mass strata"; the French intellectual elite, on the contrary, has had, for one hundred and fifty years, the assurance that its leadership is needed. Four major revolutions, the Dreyfus Case and the Resistance movement are there to prove it.

THE LEFT-WING intelligentsia is committed, at least in theory, to a total reform of French society, involving the abolition of classes and the restoration of the worker to the dignity of a human being. As Russia is now clearly incapable of providing inspiration for the French masses, it is not inconceivable that the United States will serve, some time in the future, perhaps soon, as a substitute for the Soviet utopia. The traditionally leftist intellectual may yet surprise the world; in this case Raymond Aron's recent *L'Opium des intellectuels* would represent the first explosion in a chain reaction.

The "American experiment" presents itself differently from the point of view of the non-leftist Catholic intellectuals. Since their major preoccupation is not so much with one sector of the population, the worker, as with the spiritual and cultural survival of the nation as a whole, they have been spared the adventures and disappointments of their leftist *confrères*. For the Catholic Center and Right the United States is primarily a bulwark of Christian civilization in the world-struggle against Communism. America is a sword, granted to the West by Providence in a period of danger and distress. This attitude is evident in the writings of François Mauriac, for example.

On the other hand, the intrinsic merits and defects of the United States are carefully examined by them. Although they do not speak the Marxist jargon, the Catholic intellectuals have attacked, since the days of Léon Bloy and Charles Péguy, the modern world and its adoration of Mammon. In their eyes, bourgeois greed of profit and organized industrial capitalism are manifestations of the same *esprit de lucre* that the medieval Church denounced. In this respect the United States appears to them as the embodiment of the spirit of modern times. Georges Bernanos attacked capitalism just as vehemently as he attacked all forms of totalitarianism because of the emphasis that both put on the economic factor. Not even the word "revolution" is missing from his vocabulary; only the goal of a social upheaval should be, according to him, the restoration of the king, and even more important, of a "heroic, peasant, and militant Christianity."

Thus, if there is a common platform on which Marxist, fellow-traveler, left-wing Catholic and non-Marxist Catholic intellectuals may stand together, it is that which calls for a revolution to upset the present bourgeois regime and profit-mentality. As Pierre-Henri Simon wrote in *Esprit et Histoire,* "the term 'revolution' has acquired such a total and sacred meaning that it has become the supreme virtue."

BESIDES this yearning for a new starting point, there is among Catholic French intellectuals a sincere desire to preserve the characteristic traits of their nation's civilization against either Russian or American influence. Neutralism, although with cultural rather than political overtones, has many defenders among Catholic intellectuals. And neutralism must be, at least partially, explained by the fear that a Gabriel Marcel, for instance, has of mass-production, mechanization, and ultimately, of the robot-like man. M. Marcel's point of view is that of an uncompromising philosopher. The historian understands better the inevitability of coming events; H. I. Marrou speaks of the richness of Western civilization which "has reached such a degree of complexity that the macrocosm of collective civilization cannot be squeezed into the microcosm of individual culture." Traditional humanism as it is known in France, he says, "can be but *one* among the varieties of possible education offered to modern man." There are other forms of culture, based on social cohesion and economic productivity, like the American. Classical humanism must accept coexistence with these forms if the world is to be spared a "new barbarism."

Steeped in the democratic and spiritual traditions of his native land, the French intellectual rejects the Soviet experiment as basically incompatible with these traditions. At the same time, the American experiment remains, by and large, alien to him in its goals, the means it employs, and the image of man it proposes. How long the resulting differences may continue to veil any underlying agreement we do not know. If we are to believe Raymond Aron, not for long, since conflicts tend to be less and less ideological. "People are concerned," he writes, "with which system increases the volume of collective resources the fastest and reduces the disparity of status between groups." This would imply that the people of France have already chosen; have her intellectuals?

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The Eisenhower Paradox

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

IT IS an odd paradox that Mr. Eisenhower appears to be at a pinnacle of personal popularity at a time when his Administration is under heavy fire for its handling of life-and-death national problems. It is a closely related paradox that while Mr. Eisenhower's decision to seek re-election, if the various opinion polls can be trusted, is popular with a majority of citizens in the country at large, here in Washington there is among experienced observers a widely shared sense of deep unease and disquiet concerning the President's decision. Many doubt that it is either in his or the nation's best interest that Mr. Eisenhower seek to carry on for another four years. This doubt finds its most common expression in the present flurry of excitement over the question of Vice President Nixon's future status, but the sources of doubt go deeper than the matter of Mr. Nixon. The latter's replacement would assuage but not dissolve this anxiety, expressions of which are easily found.

Four years ago, Walter Lippmann hailed Gen. Eisenhower's decision to enter political life as a boon to the nation. This time he could only summon up the glum statement, "It is a big gamble."

Marquis Childs commented: "It might be well to try to look behind the glittering surface of the President's great personal attraction."

The Washington *Post,* which endorsed Mr. Eisenhower in 1952 and which has an editorial page of unusual independence and distinction, responded to the President's announcement in gingerly fashion: "If it were merely a question of personal popularity, Mr. Eisenhower might now be elected by acclamation. But it is far more than that. Many persons who have the kindliest feelings toward him may experience misgivings about the wisdom of his willingness to continue a burden of office that involves risks for him and for the country as well. Others will think the risks worth taking because of the benefits of continuity in the Eisenhower policies. Americans will want to consider the risks along with the advantages."

For the causes of this uneasiness about the President's decision one must return to the initial paradox: the contrast between Mr. Eisenhower's personal popularity and the rising chorus of criticism of his Administration's management of foreign and defense policies. Evidence of this criticism is concisely (and unexpectedly) assembled in the March 5 issue of *Time.* Mr. Luce's weekly infrequently criticizes Mr. Eisenhower and his Administration in its own words. Yet it would seem to be more than chance that the four selections featured in its department, "Judgments and Prophecies," take a uniformly dark view of Administration leadership in world affairs.

THE first selection, from James Reston of the *Times,* is headed "U.S. Miscalculates Communist Strategy" and begins: "There is more apprehension in the capital today about the conduct of foreign policy than at any time since the Korean War."

The second is entitled "Nobody At The Top To Direct U.S. Strategy" and is taken from a Lippmann column. In it he says: "The affair of the Saudi Arabian tanks is a ludicrous but damaging example of what can happen in a big and complicated government when it is not clearly led and firmly administered from the top. . . . With nobody at the top in Washington who can and will take new decisions, our diplomacy is almost everywhere fighting rear-guard actions."

A quotation from an editorial in the Scripps-Howard newspapers which *Time* entitles "Dulles Should Stop Barnstorming Trips" begins: "Only a quick glance at the headlines of recent weeks shows all is far from well in the Western world, that there is no dynamic leadership, that the West has lost the initiative to the Kremlin."

Finally, a quotation from the columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop called "Russians Have Reasons for New Self-Confidence" concludes with these words: "All in all, it is not difficult to understand the reasons for the public show of reassurance which Khrushchev and his fellow oligarchs have just staged in Moscow. It is more difficult to understand the public show of complacency which still emanates from Washington."

It is easy to discount this gathering storm of press criticism. Every Administration in the past has experienced negative appraisals of this kind. The unusual significance of these criticisms, however, is that they come at a time when a popular President has decided to run again. What these observers are actually questioning is the wisdom of the mandate Mr. Eisenhower has been carrying out during the past three years.

Mr. Shannon, Washington correspondent for the New York *Post,* contributes frequently to The Commonweal.

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MR. EISENHOWER was elected, in large part, because the nation in 1952 did not want to face up to the rigors of world responsibility. The American people were weary of the Korean War, high taxes, an unbalanced budget, creeping inflation, and long tours of duty in the draft army. Mr. Eisenhower's most impressive single campaign stroke was his announcement that he would go to Korea, with the implied promise he would find a way to end the war there.

During his three years in office, Mr. Eisenhower has been faithful to his mandate. The Administration brought the Korean War to an end, reduced taxes, reduced draft calls and military spending, and balanced the budget for the coming year. The President avoided war in Indochina and the Formosa Straits and went to great lengths at Geneva to promote an atmosphere of calm and *détente*. The country has been repeatedly reassured that for the first time in twenty years there is no war going on in any corner of the world. The people in turn have responded with a surge of consumer spending and private investment that has sent the industrial indices and the stock market soaring.

In short, during these past three years the theme has been retrenchment and relaxation. It is, in a narrow sense, unfair to criticize Mr. Eisenhower for doing what he promised to do and what a majority of the people apparently elected him to do. The articles quoted by *Time* suggest, however, that the United States position in the world has been steadily worsening for the very reason that this country has not faced up to the exigent demands of the foreign situation. Retrenchment and relaxation, it is suggested, are not what the situation calls for, and the country is in growing danger because it has not summoned up the reserves of vigor and initiative, of imagination and sacrifice, which the Russian menace demands.

We are in a crisis, but we do not act as if we were. This, in a sentence, is the heart of the indictment against the Administration which Messrs. Reston, Lippmann, Alsop, and numerous other commentators are making. They are complaining about the fashion in which the President has conducted his office and in which he clearly proposes to continue conducting it for another four years.

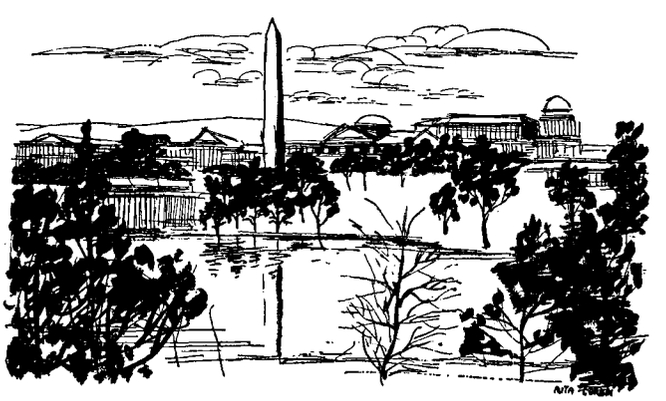
THUS FAR, the complaints of the President's critics seem to be unavailing in the face of the major political fact of this election year: despite the crisis, Mr. Eisenhower is highly popular. He is popular because the mood he symbolized and the policies he embodied in 1952 are still popular, and here is the source of the unspoken dismay in many responsible quarters at his decision to run again.

This attitude involves no denigration of Mr. Eisenhower's personal qualities as an attractive and accomplished public man. It is rather that observers do not see much likelihood that a man who articulated a mood and carried forward a program of retrenchment up to the time of his heart attack is now going to venture forth on any bolder, more arduous, and less congenial course. The man who is the symbol of the nation's complacency is not likely to be the instrument for breaking down that complacency.

It is clearly within a Chief Executive's power and area of responsibility to break through a fog of complacency and summon the nation to renewed effort. President Roosevelt did so in 1939-41. President Truman did so in 1947-48. President Eisenhower may yet do so, but up to the present he has shown no such inclination. His rare demonstrations of personal force have been negative in character as, for example, his decision not to go to war in Indochina in 1954 and not to adopt an aggressive stance in the Formosa Straits in 1955. But can a creative foreign policy be based only on these eleventh-hour interventions? His record gives meager ground for hope that he will take a more positive line in the future.

Mr. Eisenhower has spoken of the danger of "spending ourselves into bankruptcy." He is not then likely to urge sharply increased foreign aid expenditures to outstrip Russian competition at the risk of unbalancing the budget. He has wrapped in the mantle of his own military prestige the drastic cutback put into effect by Defense Secretary Wilson and the economizers in the Pentagon. He is not then likely to order the crash programs in guided missiles and satellite research many observers regard as urgent. He has failed at the peak of his popularity to accomplish any reforms in foreign trade or to draw this country and its European allies into a rational Atlantic economic community. He is not then likely to do so in the coming four years when his popularity will have passed its peak and begun to decline.

Some disinterested observers here are also uneasy at the purely personal fate that probably awaits Mr. Eisenhower should he be elected to another term. Out of their political experience, much greater than that of the President himself, they feel sure that a second term



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would be less successful than his first. The problems they now see crowding the horizon cannot be stalled off for another four years without the most fateful consequences, and yet they are problems which a President on a limited work schedule may be able to contend with but not to surmount.

The rhythms of history are obscure and complex. It can well be argued that after nearly a generation of war and sacrifice the American people needed a four-year interlude of quiet and consolidation. President Eisenhower's Administration has provided it. Yet surely the interlude must not become a way of life. Unless Mr. Eisenhower can provide the new directions and fresh initiatives he has not offered in the past, he may be in for four years of rough sailing on dark and troubled waters.

ANGLICANS AND "CRISES"

Tea-Cup Tempest

PETER F. ANSON

ABOUT SIX months ago, as a result of the resolutions passed by the two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury concerning relations with the Church of South India, many Catholic newspapers informed their readers that there was every possibility hundreds, if not thousands, of Anglo-Catholic clergymen and layfolk would soon be reconciled with the Holy, Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Church. True enough, Anglo-Catholics had good reason to be disturbed: the Church of India is really an amalgamation of practically all the non-Catholic Christian bodies in the area, and it includes many non-episcopally ordained ministers of Nonconformist bodies; Anglicans who claim apostolic succession could hardly help being embarrassed by the official decision to recognize the orders of the South Indian Church and to enter into limited intercommunion with it. But subsequent events have proved only too conclusively that commentators who foresaw widespread reconciliation with Rome failed to grasp the ever-increasing elasticity of Anglicanism on such matters.

In actuality, the general reaction to the South India Church reunion has been very similar to what happened in America in October, 1907. When the Open Pulpit Canon was passed to allow "Christian men, who are not ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to make addresses in the church on special occasions," many people thought that there was no future for the Catholic Party in the Episcopal Church. But this Canon, which was passed by the General Convention held at Richmond, Virginia, proved the last straw for only some twenty-one clergymen and fifty layfolk—a far greater number than have become converts as a consequence of the South India Church reunion projects.

Mr. Anson is the author of *The Call of the Cloister*, a history of Anglican religious communities, and many other works.

Very strong opposition to the proposed schemes for reunion with the Church of South India was expressed by some of the Superiors of the religious communities of men in the Church of England. But a statement issued by five of them in the late autumn of last year indicates that they now feel obliged to subscribe to the decisions reached by the Convocation of Canterbury, although at the same time they insist: "This does not mean that we ascribe infallibility to them or deny that occasions may come when recourse must be had to lawful means of urging reconsideration."

They admit that "Catholics have been obliged to accept conditions of partial intercommunion with the South India Church which strain their consciences to the limit of what is tolerable to their sense of Catholic discipline." They regard the whole business as "a delicately balanced temporary solution to avert disaster," pointing out that "its unsatisfactory nature is inevitable in the present difficult condition of the Church of England." Moreover, these five Superiors maintain that "the recognition of C.S.I. Orders is no betrayal of principle" and that "the decision is based on theological grounds in accordance with Western principles."

SIGNIFICANTLY enough, the joint statement of the five English Superiors ends with these words: "It may well be asked whether we are sufficiently on our guard against the all too prevalent tendency to neglect the integral connection between the unity and the holiness of the Church. If in any sense it is true that the Anglican Communion has a special vocation at this time, it surely is to be found in its having that unity which rests upon holy living. A renewed sanctity, Catholic in faith and Evangelical in fervor, in the Church of England would do more than any-

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thing else to bring closer that unity of Christendom, for which we all long."

The same stress on the greater need for holiness of life is made by Dom Maurus Benson, Prior of the Anglican Benedictine Abbey of Nashdom, in the December issue of its magazine. This community, it should be noted, like its daughter house at Three Rivers, Michigan, is uncompromisingly "Roman" in its corporate worship. Both the *Missale Monasticum* and the *Breviarium Monasticum* are used, and the ceremonial is meticulous in its obedience to the latest decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

Dom Maurus is convinced that "humility with faith, hope and charity, these, and ultimately only these, will relax the tension in the Church of England, heal the wounds in the Body of Christ, and convert our country and the world to the one true faith." He says: "We who trace our spiritual ancestry through Stanton, Dolling and Mackonachie, Pusey and Keble would do well to study the lives of the Evangelicals, William Wilberforce, Simeon and Venn, while Evangelicals of today might read the fathers of the Oxford Movement. The striking thing common to all these men was their holiness; and these two types of sanctity joined together make a nearer approach to a balanced perfection of holiness." And the Prior of Nashdom ends this statement by asking his readers to study an article describing the *Una Sancta* Movement, which has its headquarters at the Benedictine Abbey of Niederaltaich in Bavaria, and the aim of which is to unite Catholics and Lutherans in all parts of Germany in prayer and work for Christian unity.

Father Edward Symonds set forth the attitude of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, in the Christmas, 1955, issue of its *Quarterly Review*. Like the other Superiors, he too feels that Anglo-Catholics need not be over-anxious about what is going on in South India. Nevertheless, he admits that "there are many things in the practices of the South India Church that call for reform—for example, some nearer approximation to the Church Catechism's doctrine of the Sacraments, and in practice, the more general use of the admirable liturgy of that Church (which Père Bouyer says would be considered as adequate if the Church of South India sought union with Rome) . . ." He feels that the best way "for strengthening the Anglican and Catholic element in that Church" would be to "send out priests to work there without compromising Catholic principles." He concludes his pronouncement with the words: "In any case, there seems to be nothing in the Report and the resolutions of Convocation, which gives color to the idea that the Church of England has abandoned any part of its Catholic witness to the fundamental doctrines of the Church, or its insistence on a Catholic hierarchy which admits of no exceptions."

Anglican communities of women are, of course, far more numerous than those of men. But since the spiritual direction of almost all of them is concentrated in the hands of the members of the male communities which issued the joint statement quoted above, it is a foregone conclusion that the Sisters will adopt the same point of view in regard to reunion with the Church of South India.

All in all, it almost looks as if the South India business will prove to be no more than just another storm in a tea cup, which will soon be forgotten. Since the Jerusalem Bishopric agitation of the eighteen-forties, Anglicans have been accustomed to live through one "crisis" after another. As each reaches its climax, a few become converts, but most resume their accustomed ways. By the time South India is buried, another and even more alarming crisis will be approaching—negotiations for reunion between Anglicans and Presbyterians, which, as a matter of fact, have started already.

AFTER THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN

At last the dawn throws the forest in relief—
the true dawn one hopes, the end of war,
coming and catching the prisoners asleep:
hope in dry hearts, sap in winter stalks—
and all the fabulary animals in their living cage,
led by a child extinguishing their grief
and like a dumb assuager giving sight
to us who sit unmoved in fields of light:

speech is a shoot of grace
and God's minstrel and a game of heaven,
but our Lord has caught this whole world
with the thin line of his love and the bait of his blood,
even the tiger in the enkindled wood
that protests the enfolding of his passion;
He lies down in each one's cenacle
to stir as if from sleep to miracle
trees seen in the inhospitable garden
where the second coming rides an enamored world—
every page's Dominus done in gold;
after longer syllables where green and blue are hidden,
and the martyr's bonfires indelibly red,
capitols whose lineaments are written
in parables around the story told;
He stirs His igneous limbs from each one's cold
and from his inertia makes His parables happen. . .

Now the sun rises in a winter field
and the frozen corn stalks make a tiny wood
that marks the line between hope and Hope
resplendent upon us who sleep.

DARYL HINE.

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THE SCREEN

"HELL'S BLACK INTELLIGENCER"

PURISTS who think that Shakespeare can do no wrong may not be happy with Laurence Olivier's production of "Richard III." But audiences who believe the play's the thing, or, in this case, that the finished movie is what counts, are likely to shout Sir Laurence's praises from all theater-tops. It is true that he has snipped and juggled Shakespeare's lengthy, complicated play in order to crowd it into a two-hour-and-twenty-minute film. He has dropped characters (mainly Margaret of Anjou who wandered through the original spouting curses and prophecies on the various members of the House of York) and even added a character (Jane Shore, played by Pamela Brown, who says only a few words in the whole movie but slithers and beams in the most seductive fifteenth-century manner as the mistress of Edward IV and later of Hastings). Though this be heresy, I believe Olivier has even improved on Shakespeare: he has dropped some scenes, divided others (the successful wooing of Anne is more credible now that it takes place on two separate occasions rather than in one long diatribe between Richard and Anne beside the coffin), retained most of Shakespeare's poetry, and has given the whole a magnificent pageantry that adds much to this telling of one of the most famous and infamous legends in English history.

The pageant is well started at the film's beginning in a handsome scene showing the coronation of Edward IV (Cedric Hardwicke) with the camera introducing us to the various people who will soon be playing important roles in the drama. We then get to Shakespeare's opening lines: Richard's "Now is the winter of our discontent" soliloquy which lets us know the kind of man he is and thinks he is: a deformed prince cheated by nature, who, since he cannot prove a lover, is determined to prove a villain. "I can smile and murder while I smile." And Laurence Olivier makes Richard smile often as he leans forward in close-ups to let us in on his evil plans. This Richard may be soured on life and a determined villain, but he has a sense of humor, though it is a malevolent one that delights in outlining his vicious plots to eliminate those who stand in the way of his bloody path to the throne.

The story tells of the rise and fall of this Richard Crookback, as he was commonly called, and it is necessarily crowded with the people who were his family, victims, enemies and friends—friends for a while at least. Olivier, who plays the lead role with such smooth cunning and gave the film its brilliant production, also directed the large cast which crowds the picture with first-rate performances. Ralph Richardson, as Buckingham who has cause to regret aiding Richard in his evil schemes, and John Gielgud, as Clarence who landed in the Tower and met his death through Brother Richard, are outstanding. But so too are Claire Bloom as the lovely, bewildered Lady Anne, Alec Clunes as Hastings, Mary Kerridge as the wife of Henry IV, Helen Haye as the mother of Edward, Clarence and Richard, Stanley Baker as Henry Tudor who would finally lead the forces against Richard, and many, many others. Members of the cast move swiftly through the action as Richard gains the throne and struggles to hang on to it.

While the first part of "Richard III" is jammed with historical references that seem to slow up the action, the picture is always exciting for its mental stimulation and handsome staging. The Battle of Bosworth Field, filmed in Spain, conveys effectively the confusion of battle which finds Richard fighting well but still offering his kingdom for a horse; and the interior scenes, expertly designed by Roger Furse and beautifully filmed in VistaVision and Technicolor, take us to the fifteenth century Westminster Abbey, cold palaces and gloomy Tower. Again and again Olivier shows imagination in his direction—in the groupings and regroupings of the principal characters at the deathbed of Edward IV, in the use of Richard's shadow across the floor or throne as an ominous foreboding of things to come, and in many other devices that make this splendid movie more than a study of one man's evil. "Richard III" is not for laggards, but for those who like a film pleasing to the eye and ear and are able to take villainy displayed with wit and artistry.

THE ENGLISH have also sent over a little comedy, "Cash on Delivery," which isn't up to their usual standards at all. This is particularly surprising because it is directed by the very capable Muriel Box; but considering the mediocre material she had to work with (based on the stage farce, "To Dorothy, a Son," which delighted the English but flopped in New York immediately) it should not be surprising that the film is so flat. It's about an American singer (Shelley Winters) who will inherit two million dollars if her English ex-husband (John Gregson) has not become a father by a certain date. John's present wife (Peggy Cummins) is about to have a baby any minute. The effect is somewhat like that of an early talkie, with much rushing around over nothing and a great deal of shouted conversation about marriage, divorce and the coming baby. I could not have cared less about the people involved or what they had to say on any subject.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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COMMUNICATIONS

THE CATHOLIC PRESS

Milwaukee, Wisc.

TO the Editors: Federico Alessandrini's remarks [February 10] on M. Maritain's famous distinction are so noteworthy, since they come from an editor of *Osservatore Romano,* and so arresting in their own right that I wish he had expanded on them. I confess his compact expression has left me confused by what appear to me contradictions, and these on some of the very points where I am anxious to understand him.

The first is a matter of principle and policy both. M. Maritain shows the essential difference between work specifically devoted to the ends of the Church and work specifically devoted to temporal, cultural or political ends. Because publications called "Catholic" can and do perform both, M. Maritain warns that there is real danger they will confuse their readers regarding the "Catholic" character of the statements they make and the stands they take. To overcome this danger he proposes that two distinct types of publications be established: one, which will publicly name and present itself as Catholic but which consequently will not take temporal stands on events of the day; the other, which will not proclaim itself Catholic—although properly produced it will be Catholic in its inspiration—but which will take temporal stands.

Now Mr. Alessandrini says experience has shown him these "criteria" are hard to apply. If he means that they are not easy to understand and that journalists are readily tempted not to live up to them, his experience only reaffirms what M. Maritain teaches. These distinctions *are* hard to live up to; M. Maritain says that at times they require almost heroic virtue. But Mr. Alessandrini gives the impression that these criteria are *too hard* to apply. If that is what he means, then he is denying that M. Maritain's principles and policies are true. For principles which are presented as practical but which are impossible to live up to are not genuinely practical principles at all.

The second point is a matter of fact. Mr. Alessandrini says, "contemporary confusions do not arise because the spiritual goes beyond the field which is its own, but because the temporal comes to meet the spiritual and push it back." What knowledge I have of present affairs makes it seem clear to me that today the temporal does indeed try to restrict the spiritual. But to admit this it is not necessary to deny that some Catholic journalists ostensibly extend the spiritual beyond its limits, too. That point seems as plain to me as the other. Almost everyone is familiar with examples of it. It strikes me it is further supported by Father John Courtney Murray's recent comment in *Life* that journalism is one of the fields in which there is some danger of a peculiarly American kind of "anti-clericalism that would deny to the layman . . . any real responsibilities and consequently any genuine freedom in the fields in which the layman belongs and has competence."

I would be content to treat these points as matters on which I, reluctantly, disagree with Mr. Alessandrini, were it not for the fact that, having made them near the start of his remarks he appears to contradict them at the end. In his last paragraph Mr. Alessandrini declares that Catholic journalists *are* tempted to ascend into the pulpit and present their private judgments in the guise of authoritative pronouncements of the Church. Thus he admits the fact that confusion is caused by the spiritual at least ostensibly going beyond its own field. At the same time he points out that this is the grave danger M. Maritain has warned against and he urges Catholic journalists to resist it. But how are they to resist it except by recognizing the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal and then by living up to M. Maritain's policies of never assuming, borrowing or running the risk of involving the Church's authority in their personal opinions? Apparently, then, M. Maritain's principles are not really too hard to apply.

Finally, Mr. Alessandrini counsels that "The Catholic press should not worry too much about external and extraneous reactions." This would be a good deal clearer if Mr. Alessandrini had shown just where to draw the line between enough and too much worry and just how to determine what is an external and extraneous reaction to a publication. Certainly a publication would be wanting in fortitude if it permitted fear of every misunderstanding it could conceive of arising among its readers to keep it from publishing just and reasonable discussions or from taking honest stands. Yet it seems to me that if it discovered that a considerable number of readers were confused over what in its contents is Church doctrine and what is not, a journalist would be wise to study the matter in order to make sure that that reaction is not caused by his failure to make necessary distinctions clear. Indeed, even if he discovers the fault is his readers', it would still be prudent for him to consider how he can help correct this fault in them or how he can evade its effects. Even here, too little worry about reactions to his publication could mean that he lacked a proper sense of his responsibilities.

It may be that my confusion is due to the difficulties of translating Mr. Alessandrini's remarks. Whatever the reason, I remain uncertain of Mr. Alessandrini's answers to the following questions: 1. Is it possible for the Catholic press to live up to Maritain's principles and policies? 2. Is there serious danger that American Catholic publications lead their readers to believe that Catholic doctrine and authority require them to take

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particular stands on temporal affairs when the readers are actually under no compulsion from either to do anything of the kind? 3. May Catholic publishers, editors and writers be unconcerned about the risks of causing such confusion?

DAVID HOST,
Professor of Journalism, Marquette University.

"NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH"

New Orleans, La.

TO the Editors: The article, "Negro Voter in the South," [Jan. 20] does your magazine no credit. . . . The author . . . made no serious attempt to gather factual information on his article, other than to check with a few anonymous sources and to report that the rest, for some dark reason, have gone underground.

For instance, he says that "in Louisiana even white people have a difficult time voting in some of the rural parishes." Then comes word from an anonymous "correspondent" that the best place to find information on Negro voting is from the "NAACP headquarters in New York."

Why not from the office of State Registration in Baton Rouge? Louisiana, unlike many of its less enlightened Northern, Western and Southern sisters, has a public records law which requires that such information be made freely available. The Associated Press, the United Press, the *Times-Picayune* and other members of the secular press had no difficulty finding this information. Did your correspondent's correspondent even try?

If he had, this is what he might have learned: Negro vote registration in Louisiana has had a sensational climb in the past eight years, from 1,672 in 1948 to more than 154,000 in 1956. A Negro Catholic, Earl J. Amedee of New Orleans, ran for attorney general and polled more than 60,000 votes. There were no riots, no beatings, not even a Jesuit Bend, which your author throws into a vote registration story for no particular reason. In Louisiana in the past four years, Negro registration has climbed fifty per cent, while white registration has dropped four per cent.

Louisiana is the *only* Southern state and one of five in the union to have voting machines in every precinct (New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Delaware are the others; Maryland has passed a mandatory voting machine law but it has not been used in a state election yet). Permanent Registration, an election reform law, has been installed in many parishes to do away with graveyard registration rolls. It is partially responsible for the rise in Negro registration.

The article concludes that "Democrats have a lot to answer for in Dixie, particularly in Mississippi and Louisiana. . . ." Perhaps Mr. O'Connor has something to answer for in maligning a state that holds fifty-one per cent of the South's Catholic population and has been less vociferous than any of its Southern neighbors in the segregation fight.

As a Northern Catholic living in the South, I find it difficult to understand why a magazine like The Commonweal is so prone to accept the grossest calumnies against the South without at least rudimentary checking of the facts. Surely the battle can only be won by fighting mistruths with facts and not the other way around. . . . If we are to end segregation in the South, let us do away with the anonymous source that makes a monster of one geographic area and belittles its accomplishments. Louisiana's increase in Negro registration should rank with one of the great progressive accomplishments of the age. Should not The Commonweal encourage this trend, rather than go out of its way to blacken the state's reputation?

To quote Mr. O'Connor's anonymous friend, "the going gets pretty rough at times," especially when prejudice against the Negroes is replaced by prejudice against the South as a whole. Remember, Negroes are voting in Louisiana before they are attending unsegregated parochial schools, before they are being admitted to the Knights of Columbus, before they are treated at Catholic hospitals, before they can enter Catholic orphanages, before they can attend Catholic summer camps.

Is it not a matter of tossing the first stone?

C. J. BEAUCARRE.

REPLY

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: Mr. C. J. Beaucarre has confirmed my general statement that Negro voting in the South has climbed to more than one million in the present decade, or about sixteen per cent of the eligible Negro voters. His justifiable complaint is that I did not specifically mention the very notable increase in Negro vote registration in Louisiana.

My special concern is whether Negro voting gains in Louisiana, which are highly commendable, will be reduced or curtailed because of hostility to the Supreme Court decision on public school integration.

I took part in an educational workshop in New Orleans less than a year ago. The strength of race prejudice in the city at that time undoubtedly influenced my estimation of the Negro's political future.

My hope is that Louisiana's conspicuous progress in the matter of the Negro franchise will soon carry over into the ranks of the Catholic laity where interracial progress, despite Archbishop Rummel's magnificent leadership, has been somewhat laggard.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR.

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By M. A. FITZSIMONS

GENERAL de Gaulle has avenged his political failure with a literary masterpiece. While France moves from crisis evaded to crisis precipitated, he has written in solitary pride the story of his devotion to *la patrie*. His is a noble passion, barely and briefly requited, hopelessly romantic in the striking contrast between the object of love and his image of the beloved.

Other politicians, the victims of France's political deficiencies, apparently born to wither in the brief lives of French governments, will usually seem unimportant as they carry on the more-than-daily and not-quite-yearly round of government. General de Gaulle occupies the loftier position of a hero calling to greatness, a glorious might-have-been, the symbol of a promise never called for fulfillment. But perhaps he is more than this. His call to greatness, vague in content and limited by reason of its nationalism, is a true and proper challenge to France and our own republic, for it may very well be that without greatness we may not survive in freedom. Today we may rightly fear that the next generation will not be able to redeem our blunders, that the next few decades, if responsibility and foresight are sacrificed to the pursuit of comfort, will not even have a General Charles de Gaulle to write the sad chronicle of their failure.

The General is inspired by a vision of France regenerated. He feels instinctively that France, in the scheme of Providence, is created "for complete successes or for exemplary misfortunes." Mediocrity is the fault of Frenchmen, not of the genius of the land. "The positive side of my mind also assures me that France is not really herself unless in the front rank; that only vast enterprises are capable of counter-balancing the ferments of dispersal which are inherent to her people; that our country, as it is, surrounded by the others, as they are, must aim high and hold itself straight, on pain of mortal danger."

He fought in the first World War, noting the measureless sacrifices required for victory because of France's insufficient birthrate, hollow ideologies and the negligence of the authorities. During the inglorious inter-war period he vainly struggled against the tides of a distracted France. To regenerate his country he proposed the creation of a professional, mechanized army capable of attack and, therefore, capable of effective resistance. His brief and partial report of the comments of French political leaders is hair-raising, all the more because of the restraint and dignity of his language. Thereafter, he passes to the familiar story of the Fall of France and a lengthy account (1940-42) of his leadership of the France which did not surrender. Only the lofty vision of a de Gaulle could readily have sustained the proud refusal to accept defeat. Churchill and Roosevelt complained of his intractability, but it arose, almost necessarily, from the sources of his strength.

General de Gaulle's account is a valuable supplement to Churchill's history, ranking worthily with it, and the English translation retains the eloquence and the epigrammatic brilliance of the French. The General is just, to the point of generosity, to Churchill and to General Spears, who later became, in French eyes, their British evil genius in the Middle East. Spears is portrayed as a foreigner possessed by an uneasy, dominating love for France. Thus he rendered essential aid to Free France, but he was jealous of the Free French and began fighting against them. "In the passion he brought to this, was there not regret at not having been able to lead it and sadness at having left it?"

In later years it was commonly observed that de Gaulle's attempt

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o rally the French people involved n act of faith in the General rather han principles or a program of ac- ion. The General, of course, would ave stressed executive leadership nd presumably have given France greater capacity for initiative. Be- ond that? A nationalist soldier's ream of greatness. As he wrote in *The Army of the Future* (French dition, 1934); "In the hard toil vhich is needed to rejuvenate France, her Army will serve her as standby and as ferment. For the word is the axis of the world, and greatness is not divisible." He con- cludes this first volume of his nemoirs with his meditation of 1942. "A truce to doubts! Poring over the gulf into which the country has fallen, I am her son calling her, holding the light for her, showing her the way to rescue. Many have joined me already. Others will come, I am sure! I can hear France now, answering me. In the depths of the abyss she is rising up again, she is on the march, she is climbing the slope. Oh! mother, such as we are, we are here to serve you."

The Social Dance of Life

THE ACCEPTANCE WORLD. By Anthony Powell. Farrar, Straus. $3.50

By ANTHONY BAILEY

THAT great bore, the Duc de Guermantes, delighted in showing off his wife, Oriane, even when his present mistress was at table with them: the Duchess was a highly personable and intelligent woman. She made him proud. Perhaps this is the essence of Proust, if anything so elusive can be thus labelled: a fine civility, a sort of distinguished stuffiness.

Mr. Anthony Powell, for all the superficial likenesses, is altogether another cup of tea. Like Proust he is dealing with a small set of people; like Marcel, Nick Jenkins is involved with a group of upper-class and upper-middle class people (*mise-en-scène:* Public School annual dinners, the lounge of the Ritz on Picadilly, and the homes of ex-ambassadors in quiet London squares); yet unlike Proust or Marcel, Mr. Powell and his narrator are fully involved in the movement, the flux, *The Music of Time* as Mr. Powell calls his series in which *The Acceptance World* is the third volume. Not only are they more involved—in a curious way, without any political convictions at all, Nick Jenkins is *committed* to his era, the years after the depression in England, to a far greater extent than many of the erstwhile political heroes we have had created for us—but while fully taken up in it they manage to laugh at much of what goes on. The characters of *The Acceptance World* are notable for the most part in being people of doubt rather than of conviction. They carry within them more than one set of ideas. And they live in a London which is still very much faded and very much alive, a London extended into the past and into fiction. England has recently gone off the Gold Standard; it will go off many other standards too.

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If I had to name the precise virtues of Mr. Powell's art, I would be hard put to it to answer with real definition. For one thing, he writes of one or two intelligent people and sees the others through their eyes. For another it is all adult and somehow, yes, somehow true. It requires no suspension of disbelief. *The Acceptance World,* like the world of Levin and Anna Karenina, demands no visa, no special permits: you are within it from the first page, having tea with Nick and Uncle Giles in a decrepit old Bayswater hotel, The Ufford; and presently there is Mrs. Erdsleigh as well, telling fortunes that turn out to be so very correct; and then the literary world: St. John Clarke, the distinguished but rather passé old novelist, turning Marxist under the influence of leather-coated Quiggins, the left-wing critic; Members, Clarke's secretary for a time, and a fashionable young poet; and next, and counterpointed with it, the business world: bill-brokers, old school friends, divorces, marriages, love-affairs. All is seen with an illuminating comic prejudice. Time goes on. We are taken backward and forward through it: house-parties and romances and deaths. It has the warmth and the vigor of life, something of its sadness. It is as though everything were seen with the color of immediate retrospection, vivid and still moist. It is a very honest nostalgia.

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Some other critic has said that the novels of Anthony Powell make a splendid introduction for any stranger unused to England. Certainly if one wants a picture of that atmosphere continuous in English life, it is here. And, in this area, those critics obsessed with themes and traditions would be well-advised to take a look at Mr. Powell. If there is any "great tradition" in English letters he is of it.

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Indian Life

MANO MAJRA. By Khushwant Singh. Grove Press. $1.25.

By JEAN HOLZHAUER

IF R. Prawer Jhabvala, in her recent novel *Amrita,* has recorded some of the feminine truth about India, the sedate and timeless maternal pleasure of seeing a daughter well married, Khushwant Singh provides a counterweight in his strongly masculine story of personal and political fortunes in the partition of Pakistan. Curiously enough, the India that emerges from both books is less clouded with traditional "mystery," and far more understandable on Western terms than much earlier fiction about that turbulent and enigmatic country.

This circumstance is perhaps accounted for by the fact that both Mrs. Jhabvala and Mr. Singh are familiar with Indian culture, the one by marriage, the other by birth, but are also accustomed to European life. By design or otherwise, both tend to emphasize universals of human experience rather than differences, and to understate the mysticism, superstition and fatalism which, in other books, place Indian characters in the realm of the nearly incomprehensible.

Whether this approach is fair from the Indian point of view may be debatable; something is lost by it, the exotic and perhaps accurate "something" so keenly pervading works by writers as disparate as E. M. Forster and Rumer Godden. Undeniably, however, something is also gained, in this case a "something" which includes closer sympathy and a heightened sense of immediacy and kinship.

Mr. Singh's story describes the tragedy of the partition's effect on a Punjabi village, Mano Majra, where Hindus and Muslims had lived closely and at peace for centuries. Mass migrations, slaughter, and political agitation set family against family, and force the central figures, a Sikh peasant and an Indian "social worker" and party man, to decisions which neither had planned or expected. •

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This discovery, this escape from the conventional vision of Indian life, has endowed Mr. Singh's book with conviction and life.

Bourgeois Symbol

KEEP THE ASPIDISTRA FLYING. By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace. $3.75.

By HENRY POPKIN

PUBLISHED twenty years ago in England, this interesting, minor early novel of George Orwell's is now appearing here for the first time. The time that has passed since it was written has not quite given it the character of an historical vignette. Chronologically, we may be, right now, almost midway between 1934, when the novel begins, and 1984, the year that Orwell did so much to make famous, but we have not yet achieved nearly half the horrors of that catastrophic year to come. Orwell's hero, Gordon Comstock, has to choose between earning a living and maintaining his integrity; even in the atomic age, such a choice has not become exotic or far-fetched. Witness Clifford Odets' melodramatic restatement of the same issue, *The Big Knife,* filmed only several months ago.

Still, a certain notable development of the last few years has called into question the particular terms in which Orwell has stated Gordon's dilemma. At the beginning of the novel, Gordon has persuaded himself that he is somehow more independent if he clerks in a rather abysmal lending library than if he writes advertising copy. Either way he panders to mass culture, but it takes him the whole length of the novel to discover that it is pointless to insist on the difference between selling out in an advertising agency and staying pure in a bookstore.

But now, in 1956, the various arms of mass culture are amalgamating. Gordon's *bête noire,* the advertising industry, has expanded its operations. Over here, in addition to running election campaigns, it supervises television entertainment for many of the people who used to frequent Gordon's shabby haven, the lowbrow lending library. A Gordon Comstock in our decade would be much more overwhelmed by the extensive operations of the advertising world; he would prob-

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ably find fewer alternatives to sustain him before he fell back into the waiting arms of the mass media.

The novel dramatizes one of Orwell's chronic dilemmas — the strange ambiguity of his attitude toward British middle-class life. Orwell became expert at describing its ugliness, its dullness, its hardships, and yet he could not help expressing a regretful admiration for it. His hero is a rather eloquent mouthpiece for all the stock complaints against the drab life of the middle classes, against the money that holds the social structure together, and against the bourgeois symbol—the aspidistra.

But chance flashes of eloquence are one thing, and the plot is another. As Gordon is drawn further and further into action, it becomes increasingly apparent that his war on society is self-destructive. Poverty and discomfort prevent him from writing poetry. Life in his grimy boarding house, under the watchful eye of his nosy landlady, is in every respect the reverse of *la vie de bohème.*

His job is as false as the rest of his rebellion; arranged for by a wealthy friend, it consists of lending books he despises to people whom he equally despises. At times the masochistic side of his revolt can be seen, when Gordon is savoring the effect of his wretchedness upon his girl or his wealthy friend. He at last becomes aware of his obligation to life when he feels instinctively that his girl must bear his child and not have an abortion. In this crises, his theoretical, academic misanthropy turns out to be greatly exaggerated. He gratefully accepts his fate: "It was what, in his secret heart, he had desired." Even the mighty bourgeois symbol looks better to him: "The aspidistra is the tree of life, he thought suddenly."

REVIEWERS

M. A. Fitzsimons is an editor of the *Review of Politics.*

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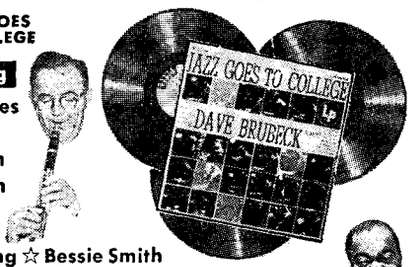

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